

727 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

[73] As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemes and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Manducara beginnings which consider this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadaveri. Strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. There was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadaveri, as well as the Araguain, Iruema, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajós, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, leaving their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

133 [75] Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

64 I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the cânoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently,

100 [i.e., Necodemes - Analyst]

IV

27 A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

35 One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a valuable caller, makes me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead then appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [84] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

75 Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[See p. 7, cat. 116, -Awahpt]

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajós, which was discovered only 120 years ago, in 1768, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Itaco-Coroso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his *Cosmographia Brasílica* of 1817, Ayres de Casal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajós, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajós, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maú, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andia, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Casal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with grapiap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of *Pai-quice*, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

14
148 "The inferiority of those who still roam the jungle, un-
hindered as they are by considerations of sex or of age, have
forced large numbers of the other tribes to take refuge [92] in the
shadow of Christian settlements where they can live peacefully,
safe from their heartless enemies.

150 "The bold Mundurucu are perfect of the Macanor of Celebes,
who are reputed to be the most valiant people of the great eastern
archipelago."

VIII

Present location of the central plain villages --
Disappearance of the bands from the valley of
the Tapajoz

151
67 Yet this vast savage population, which according to Ayres
de Casal still roamed the territory of Mundurucania sixty years
ago, no longer wanders through those parts.

On the Lower Tapajoz there are christianized Indians who
are descendants of the savages of old. On the Upper Tapajoz there
is only the Maué maloca which goes by the name of Acari and
another maloca of Apiaca Indians, both of which maintain petty
trade relations with the few frontiersmen who penetrate that far.
In addition to these two malocas, bands of Parintintin occasionally
visit the banks of the Tapajoz and its tributaries, but they do not
settle anywhere. For the Mundurucu pursue them implacably and
relentlessly.

It should be noted that in earlier times the Maué and the
Apiaca were also often pursued and beaten by the Mundurucu, who
only left them alone after those two tribes had established relations
with the Christians. The Maué no longer paint their faces; the
Apiaca only retain a blue-black line which runs down from the
outer corner of the eye to the chin and strongly resembles a tear
streak. [93]

152
153 It should also be noted that the central Mundurucu villages,
known on the Upper Tapajoz as malocas das campinas [villages of

- 3] the places are not located in the district which Ayres de Casal named Mundurucânia. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajoss, between the Tapajós and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós, namely the Cadaveri, Cabelonim and Corum rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitumai) and the Rio do Copari.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadaveri and tributaries of the Tapajós.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Nacolemas a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- kind of these wars.

- 727 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are
597 waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

- 648 The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

- 721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

712] when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
 [373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous
 wood which they call caichique-tape, and which the Indians of
 the Lower Tapajós know by the name of pan candeia (Port.)
 "lamp wood"). This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it
 blazes brightly when carried on the run.

716
 [265] Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
 Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than
 manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations;
 some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every
 year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting
 Tapajós tribe which gave the river its name and which is now ex-
 tinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the
 Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower
 Tapajós, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extant, cutting
 enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once
 reached the mouth of the Tapajós, and besieged the fort built by
 the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajós village which is now the
 site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the
 Mundurucu fight and who wander through
 the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward
 the borders of Mato Grosso.

● 673 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
 in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there
 [252] runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call
 Carantunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the
 major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest
 to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely
 unknown.

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In 1842 the Crown Prince of Prussia, Adalbert, accompanied by Count Ordo and Count von Bismarck, set out from Belém in a canoe up the Lower Xingu as far as the first waterfall and the malocas of the Juma Indians. These gentlemen, I believe, provided the first rough outline of the course of the Lower Xingu.

The upper course of the river, however, remains unknown to this day.

The Mundurucu often move from the valley of the [?] Upper Tapajós to that of the Upper Xingu, for they reside nearly on the dividing line between the two. They can thus provide information about the heathens they meet in the course of their journeys; not only along the banks of the Upper Xingu but also toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

The major groups are as follows:

Puparúts -- They are distinguished by a dark line which runs from the outer corner of each eye down to the chin, and which resembles a tear streak. About three years ago, some five hundred savages marked in this way appeared on the banks of the Lower Tocantins near the falls; they were later decimated by smallpox, but those who survived still live there.

Riche-bamerán -- Their lower lip alone is painted black.

Ipitúts -- They are not painted; they shave their head all around; they are corpulent, bearded, fierce, feared even by the Mundurucu; they do not use hammocks but sleep on mats, and make use of formidable warclubs.

Pararacúts -- They have canoes and paint a mail-like design on their temples.

Uitaracúts -- The Mundurucu call them "the jaguar tribe" and say they scream like that animal.

Peren-an-an

Parinrinrin

Titidhuáts

Jurupá -- Corpulent and fierce.

Tupaluna -- They paint themselves black.

Paribitat -- They live on the plains toward Cuabá.

Paribitêts -- They inhabit the headwaters of the Dom [São]

Manuel River, a tributary of the Tapajós.

M
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In former times the Mandarucu also fought the Bacabé, whom they call [98] "Marefale," and forced them to move to Mato Grosso where they were married.

They fought the Apiacá, and only left them alone when the latter settled on the Jaruma River, at the foot of the Salto-Augusto Falls. Even today they are very much afraid of the Mandarucu, and when the latter pass through the Apiacá malocas on their way to war, the occupants furnish them with canoes and other supplies.

Itaité -- They have already withdrawn toward Cuiabá. They are headed.

Taparúia -- They live toward the Kings.

Mauachon -- This band belongs to the Paracutin tribe, and lives by the falls of the Jauruá River, a tributary of the Tapajós.

The Mandarucu of Nicodemo knew Cuiabá; but they say that many bands of fierce heathens roam those parts.

In the course of their journeys they meet yet other bands of savages whose names they do not know.

It may be assumed that part of the native populations that disappeared from the banks of the Tapajós and of the Tocantins may now roam the valley of the Upper Kings.

It might prove of scientific interest to study the movements of these unknown savage populations.

XI

There appears in the malocas an elegantly dressed Mandarucu who claims to have been baptized in Rio de Janeiro.

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123
It was only natural that I should invite the Mandarucu to come and share with us the advantages of life in society, and especially to [99] send us their children so they might be properly educated and return to the malocas knowing how to build houses and make bows, ovens and other things that would prove of great usefulness.

736 village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children
224 close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

796 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary
241 deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called *ken*; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

536 "Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucêipixi eirô berê bereme u tiedie imenedie diel chipanme
mucê de aipanem itabungue diêe tarabote ama epôtepôte diêe
imenedie tutu utê-die arairai utêcôpe jxi abime pame euatu
abime eirô berereme bate que mēaipanhate uêrê mon utie caroi
diêai panme ruman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

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797 source of violent complaints on the part of the leading citizens
of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages.

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. --
At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

648 twelve canoes with their loads and several lives!... These facts
797 were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarem. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the tradesmen, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itaituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajoz, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itaituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those tradesmen named regatoes [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajoz, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

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"During my absence the public morality of the village was thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaca they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamity!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogression took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

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"Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaca and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated: everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the sub-delegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

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797 that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development
of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this
human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues be-
yond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the perti-
nent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin --
Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the
Tapajoz river banks.

M
C
648
726 Around that time, a band of Parintintin appeared on the
banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the
Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians
and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met
only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in
the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the
Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately
set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set
the others to flight, and returned to the village with several
woman and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle
in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] in-
cessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a
continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into
the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the
forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in
their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who
had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining
a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

[i.e., ca. January, 1876. - Analyst]

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● 648 attempted to express as they could the profound rancor this in-
726 famous slaughter had awakened in them.

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648 Here is how Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva described the
726 Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersman neighbors of
the Mission, in a Report to the president of Pará dated August 14,
1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a
savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state
of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept
civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all
gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin
have been less fiercely attacked by their foe, and as a result have
occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys.
They were seen at various points of the Tapajoz riverbanks, and
appeared last at the mouth of the Jauanchim River, a tributary of
the Tapajoz, at the beginning of last July.

C
[648] "At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the
[726] stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba
on the Upper Tapajoz to extract rubber. One day at the beginning
of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing
through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked,
[142] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with
[237] macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently
trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing
would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case elsewhere
when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning
of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who
screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attacked. The
three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close
battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others
wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them
was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows
and went to get some more from their women who waited a short
distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this
short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the
general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

C
648 savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding
726 the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and
[412] carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large
number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe,
[201] and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realized that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

M
648 The hostilities between the missionary and those he called
749 foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

● 48 787 jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's reputation.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

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797 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians
of the Upper Tapajoz.

648
797 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause
439 than the Indian trade.

[184] I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

Ma

● 648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
747 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for \$1.50 to \$2.00 a kilo-
gram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms
of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient
manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
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244 district also produces guarana, a highly precious commodity of
278 acknowledged medicinal worth.
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The Maue Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the
product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, some-
times, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma
[532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to
this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma
[435] Guarana sells on the Pará market for \$4 to \$5 a kilogram;
and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four
times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes
a guarana decoction every morning and even several times a day
as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Ma

439 The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed
greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable
newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission
of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this
capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale
of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians
have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by trades-
men known as regatoes [hucksters or traders], who appear in those
parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months
and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
Ma
[505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the
burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has
to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

437 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
 [52] the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To
 this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce
 Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting
 out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month
 and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a
 few Maue savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not
 the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our sys-
 tem of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods
 they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148]
 to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the
 rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to
 such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more!
 Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable
 extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always
 reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always
 call their creditor "patron" [*patrão*].

437 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
 448 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the
 forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to
 other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to
 his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his
 very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the
 point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish;
 and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them
 and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at
 their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these
 savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the
 homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the
 Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share
 of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an
 Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply:
 "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master,
 who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

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484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Ma
[52] Following the evening meal, each would string his hammock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches of branches and leaves.

Ma
Ma
648 The Maue and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable enemies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

000 I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand loud voices, now near, now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orchestration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.

Ma
825 And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, 776 piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maue, heathens of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

000 Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [161] civilization as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Aritman of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadereri I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemos.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

776 *The only trace of higher belief*

I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (gettut) for God and another (caunchi) for devil. The paje is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspiriter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundurucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundurucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.

- 648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajóz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojó rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guaajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraense p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajóz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundurucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins

- 448 (Paraitustes or Uauvivaits), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionario, topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas, Recife 1852, 206.

In 1803 the first aldeia of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajoz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [17] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [16] the Tapajoz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

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** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhe 1,500 and those of Canama 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canama gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsaparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

- [174] A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucus originally

THE MUNDURUCU

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundari, Abacaxi and Maúfá Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of their Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uaituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
438 sorries formerly customary.

175 Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucu
648 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
[78] tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigor-
ously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard
core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[17] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it
was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by
them. But the only information on Mundurucu warfare of any value pertains
to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published
sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn
now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucu culture during
this period.

22 The Mundurucu villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nats surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essen-
tially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was impor-
tant throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
244 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
438 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in
Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucu and constituted their
most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[462] aspects of Mundurucu social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried
out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilineal, and
the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinwomen;
each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each
Mundurucu village had about three to five such houses and a men's house;
the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate,
worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
591 The Mundurucu were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by
loose and unnamed phratic affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between
patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilineal residence rule and the
resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages
continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and
476 cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
778 minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggres-
sion between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the or-
ganizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucu tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucu to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucu.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

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648 The Mundurucu were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucu were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

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648 The scope and importance of Mundurucu mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168-9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237-8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucu, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucu thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucu were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabanos in 1835-36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucu were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucu, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39-40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucu, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

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721 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucu warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

MURPHY]

Hostility and Cohesion

1031

Mundurucu these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucu society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilineal and patrilineal character of Mundurucu society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucu social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilineal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucu were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucu society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucu society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucu-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucu successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisturbed tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucu had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucu as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucu society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy
between desirable behavior within
Mundurucú society and toward the
outside world. These opposite aspects
of their dual ethic did not conflict but
served to reinforce each other and are
essential parts of an internally self-
consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[13] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe
of dauntless warriors inhabiting the
forests and savannah country east of
the upper Tapajós River in the state
of Pará. Their reputation for unmiti-
gated ferocity and hostility towards
other Indian groups and white settlers
grew until 1795, when Brazil authori-
ties established peace with them and
diverted their energies into attacks on
tribes still unpacified. They achieved
considerable success in their service as
mercenaries, and by the end of the
nineteenth century, there were no hos-
tile Indians within hundreds of miles
of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú
[724] warfare ended with the general paci-
fication of the region in the beginning of
this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling
their gardens, and collecting crude rub-
ber for sale to white traders.

191 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethi-
cal values. If one is to view them from
this perspective, they appear, to use
the descriptive terminology followed
by Ruth Benedict, to be true Diony-
sians.² But the internal social order
stressed harmony, cooperation, and

² Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New
York, 1946).

more, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Mundurucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

I

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region.

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by

[P.1]

THE SETTING

182 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the sit-
648 uation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in
the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peo-
ples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger;
pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes,
but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is
now a society without important goals or a future, and its
members know this well. Even more important in the pro-
gressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more in-
sidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities
that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The
effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are
obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife,
Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in
1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly
warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had
ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically
[177] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tat-
tered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rub-
ber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in
the rafters of every house and in which the people packed
their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trad-
ing posts. Little children with distended abdomens played
in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish
entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster
crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the
mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding mo-
notonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the
people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in
this strange environment, was a most depressing experi-
ence. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to
as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpre-
ter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

THE SETTING

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

• 648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance
[181] in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colonists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neighbors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

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meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaus every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648 ●

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which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxim rivers to move to safer areas.

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The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

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The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

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nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper ⁶⁴⁸ Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or ⁷⁴³ private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém ⁷⁵⁹ visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants ⁸⁷¹ who read and write usually learned to do so in another ^[212] area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú ⁶⁴⁸ are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- ⁶⁵⁸ cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the ³⁶¹ Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical ^[342] habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods. These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers, often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the *barracões* (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local traders, who buy the produce of the *caboclo* and sell him needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are nearby, and others belong to people who live there during the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

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361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same
 648 patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying [651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is [423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.⁶ The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him.

[651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

311 The economic power of the trader is especially strong
 439 on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of
 648 geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

⁶ Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

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duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Belterra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with considerable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

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439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. \$25 (approximately U.S. \$0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists
452 of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons, who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

439 The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
621 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
648 company through the patron down to the rubber collector; and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

621 Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
648 system, the local community consists of the patron and his dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

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Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: ¹⁷³₆₄₈

In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.

The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. ^[439]

[p. 27]

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439 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mun-
648 durucú's contact with Western society, and, since more
than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be
taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians
became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and
were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white
men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to
stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought
after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of fire-
arms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them
by the whites. The traders had many other things that at-
tracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among
them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum,
cachaça, clothes to protect them from insects and the cool
nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets
of the civilized world.

177 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western cul-
648 ture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is
439 for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly
induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manu-
factured goods and so great is his dependence upon them
that the Brazilian Indian Protection Service commonly
uses the lure of Western commodities to establish com-
munication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacifi-
cation. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used
this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they
have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract
wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from
the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests,
but other means, including torture and degeneration by
rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians
throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to
draw the native population into a client status under
white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

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omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been ¹⁷⁷
 the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural ⁶⁴⁸ ●
 change in this part of South America. ⁴³⁹

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported ¹⁷⁵
 Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong at- ⁶⁴⁸
 tacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of
 the Amazon.¹ It was at this time, also, that they undertook
 an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles
 distant. A successful expedition was launched against them
 in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor
 of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity
 of civilized settlements.²

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth ¹³¹
 century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of ¹⁷⁵
 a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain
 that their home has always been in the savannahs to the
 east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and
 that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their
 late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mun-
 durucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River
 and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira
 River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the
 contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Ta-
 pajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth ^[1797]
 and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are
 not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João
 Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.³ A Brazilian traveler,
 Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this
 contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

¹ Martius, 1867, p. 394.

² Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4-5.

³ Bettendorf, 1910.

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131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruçi nation" on
 175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadiriri or Cu-
 rurú River.⁴ Also, although Martius was personally ac-
 quainted only with the Mundurucú living between the
 Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to
 be their area of greatest strength in 1819.⁵

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
 • 648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
 [166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages
 moved north to the proximity of the white settlements.
 This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured
 articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the in-
 tervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and fre-
 quently identical, agencies of colonization and catechiza-
 tion had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the
 populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
 azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving
 [165] societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For ex-
 ample, Serra located the Hiauin tribe in an area several
 days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,⁶
 but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the
 east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled
 from Mundurucú war parties.⁷ The net effect of these
 demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with
 uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
 648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
 797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was fol-
 lowed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and
 Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.⁸ The inhabitants of these

⁴ Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3-5.

⁵ Martius, 1867, p. 394.

⁶ Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.

⁷ Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.

⁸ Martius, 1867, p. 395.

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settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process¹⁷⁵ of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817⁶⁴⁸ Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú⁷⁹⁷ hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." * The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already^[177] having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton."¹⁰ There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-¹⁷⁵ contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts⁶⁴⁸ the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts."¹¹ It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in¹⁷⁵ 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá⁶⁴⁸ River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú⁷⁹⁷ under its control.¹² The Indians were settled at the mis-

* Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239.

¹¹ Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.

¹² Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

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175 sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding
 forest. They were already conducting trade with the
 648 whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and guaraná and ap-
 797 parently did not have the men's house and the other ac-
 439 coutrements of the traditional men's organization. Accord-
 ing to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on
 the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundury. About forty
 [13] years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Aba-
 caxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the
 Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with
 the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the
 earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took
 place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that
 a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was
 established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by
 the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes
 of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eight-
 eenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura
 and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant war-
 fare against the white settlements and did much to im-
 pede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Un-
 able to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of
 the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles
 F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.¹² By
 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River
 town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who
 had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,¹³ and in 1852,
 Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found
 fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon
 as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the
 mouth of the Rio Teffé.¹⁴ At the time Bates wrote, the at-

¹² Hartt, 1885, pp. 116-117.

¹³ Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.

¹⁴ Bates, 1883, p. 168.

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tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835-1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. ¹⁷⁵₆₄₈

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses. Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,¹⁷⁵ and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; ¹⁷⁵₄₂¹⁶¹₆₄₈

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225.

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[161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.¹⁸ The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."¹⁹

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirim and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.²⁰ At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [1191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,²¹ although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."²² [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of guaraná, sarsaparilla, and copallina oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundury River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

¹⁸ Condruce, 1897, p. 8.

¹⁹ Hartt, 1885, p. 117.

²⁰ Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

²² Chandless, 1870, p. 434.

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of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous." ¹⁷⁵ Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since ⁶⁴⁸ that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- ¹⁸² pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- ^[177] dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made ⁵⁸² complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- ⁶⁴⁸ mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- ¹⁷⁵ tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- ⁶⁴⁸ jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 423.

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648 once any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.²⁴ The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was prob-

²⁴ Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

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ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175
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Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.²² Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundury River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundury River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175
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²² Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38-40.

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175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 fforded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be
safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and auton-
omy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and
encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a
pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians
were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take
any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship.
(429) Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade
goods, and restricted their military activities (which were
not by any means always or even usually at the immediate
behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified.
And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the
great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were grad-
ually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in con-
trast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the
transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of eco-
nomic dependency and friendship which had become es-
tablished.

175 Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
439 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
648 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós
rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance
until well into the second half of the century, while the
Madeira waters had abundant resources of guaraná and
sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the
early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were
traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date,
also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

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upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income¹⁷⁵ as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the⁴³⁹ itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no⁶⁴⁸ permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.²⁶ The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The *regatões* served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which^[244] amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and^[314] Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.²⁷

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs.^[622] The *regatão* gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

²⁶ Bates, 1863, p. 233.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

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175 the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Ac-
 439 counts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the
 648 Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby at-
 • taches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the cred-
 itor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as pos-
 sible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found
 one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum
 of 6,876 milreis.²⁸

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in
 manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mun-
 durucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and
 Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on
 the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this com-
 modity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. To-
 cantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce
 in 1875.²⁹ By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to
 penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They
 were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira
 de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream.
 Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mun-
 durucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the
 Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.³⁰ More Mun-
 durucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of
 the Tapajós far downstream.³¹ During the period of which
 Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mun-
 durucú of the savannah country were working in rubber.
 He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú]
 trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the par-
 ties of India-rubber makers."³² During the next twenty
 years, they became more completely committed to the

²⁸ Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-154.

³⁰ Chandless, 1862, p. 275.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 277.

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rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the es-175
 tablishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Ta-439
 pajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to 648
 protect the Indians from the traders and is said by To-175
 cantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing 439
 to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for 648
 yourselves, your women, and your children." 33 The priest's 797
 technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to
 monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were power-
 ful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon com-
 plaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was
 abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Ba-175
 cabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of com-439
 merce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós 648
 and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted
 in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of
 establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was ex-
 tended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through
 grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squat-
 ter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax
 rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organ-
 ization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little,
 although the violence of the boom days has subsided and
 the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant,
 poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client [466]
 system and they also came into closer proximity to the
 whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom
 accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian pop-
 ulation remained in the savannah villages and collected
 rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of [166]
 people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

■ Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

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● ⁶⁴⁸ Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,³⁴ a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons [166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.³⁵ All these scattered Mundurucú [177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries. [592]

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⁴³⁹ The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became 000 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

³⁵ Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

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Second, warfare, for both mercenary 175
 pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 182
 scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 648
 of the acquisition of firearms.³⁶ The continuance of warfare 721
 helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as
 social units for the reasons already discussed, and also be-
 cause it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
 their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
 lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
 as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
 ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
 rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, in-
 creasingly, were available only through rubber production.
 The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely
 pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service
 had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
 valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 464
 end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
 etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
 lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their
 village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June
 to September, during which period they left their savan-
 nah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber
 avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a
 precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along
 the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in
 times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dis-
 persed population reunited in their villages, where the na-
 tive round of activities persisted throughout the remain-
 ing nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
 type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
 Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

³⁶ Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

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131 pajós,⁷⁷ although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
 175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.⁷⁸ Thus, by 1895 at
 the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had
 diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and
 Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no
 doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in
 which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production
 was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
 [177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization.
 They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites,
 and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered
 losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed
 to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture per-
 sisted.

175 By 1912-1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
 182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
 648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
 177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central
 foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the
 Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive
 taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads.
 It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men,
 who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically
 at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
 439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
 648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection de-
 creased in importance and yielded decidedly less return.
 The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so
 eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of
 Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the
 Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

⁷⁷ Condreau, 1807, p. 30.

⁷⁸ Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

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on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale.

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.⁹⁰ At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber.

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning

⁹⁰ Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

6

*social solidarity and
social fission*

- Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicomunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dñ nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

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182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times,
and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so
closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the
disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine
with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb
the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ- BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration.
The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly men-
tioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been
pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rub-
ber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who
collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader
in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transac-
tions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá main-
tains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a
place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other
men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent
boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of
his sons and another man maintain a separate residence
not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber
near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered
the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season
residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his
house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas
River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the
Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

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the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São 314
Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in 439
three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most 648
powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger [361]
men of his household, and another is occupied by another
man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men
trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and
the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their represent-
ative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-
year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of fam-
ilies of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain
regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mun-
durucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers
during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá
to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they
remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect 221
less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the 344
the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence pro-
duction as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June
and collect until the rains and rising waters make their
rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December.
The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by
their alternating residence between village and rubber-
avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear
land for gardens before they may depart, and this gener-
ally holds them until May. But only the more industrious
Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village
until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until Au-
gust. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the
trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for
two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to re-
turn to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their [241]
garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

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the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society. [425] [429] [432]

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however. [657] [642] [439] [472]

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is [439] [466] [648]

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439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
 466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
 648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal
 loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rational-
 ized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper
 prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an
 interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions
 and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a
 century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
 609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pre-
 648 stige position. The trader is called *katiwat*; or also *compá*,
 a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre*, or co-father.
 The latter title was evidently learned from the white rub-
 ber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as god-
 parent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so
 for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
 123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I
 was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role.
 Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission,
 and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I
 was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of
 smoked latex, in return for which they wished mer-
 chandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the
 patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were will-
 ing to integrate us into the collective village economy and
 to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
 648 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
 484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader gen-
 erally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals
 during the rubber-collection season and sporadically dur-
 ing the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of
 whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

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for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

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439 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their ex-
 484 cursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main busi-
 574 ness is with their own patron, they often make side trips
 648 to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the
 rezas, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and
 usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They
 sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and
 spend the days helping the patron or merely watching
 what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visit-
 ing Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are
 served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go
 home.

171 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent,
 648 and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores
 constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways
 of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observ-
 ant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the
 houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for
 an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch
 intently and with interest. They are well aware of the
 [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they oc-
 casionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent
 questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural
 648 interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in
 Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly
 limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men
 speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a some-
 what greater number. But their vocabulary is largely
 limited to simple and common words and phrases and to
 the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct com-
 munication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian
 takes place.

177 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual
 648

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Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the 177
Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with 648
the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents
knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent
time among the Brazilians when young and later returned
to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining
campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of
influence. These sojourns among the whites take various
forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the
traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and
Christianize them. Actually the children perform house-
hold service without pay, but they are fed and treated well
and are integrated into the household and family of the
trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian cul-
ture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years
in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not re-
turn to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back
for varying periods are significant in the introduction of
Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this com-
munication operates is set up by the patron-client relation
—that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the
agency of a social system that was established for the ex-
change of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the co- 182
hesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors
that disturb social norms and cause losses in community
membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be 182
conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of 185
the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become 621
almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus at-
tached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

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178 durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's
 182 house. The male organization has meaning primarily in
 345 terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and
 [562] in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance.
 These have been drastically altered, and the men's house
 would have no function in the new social structure. Sim-
 178 ilarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have
 182 never been observed on the Cururú, because the major
 796 festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the
 men's house for their proper completion. Also of impor-
 tance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have
 consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the
 region under their influence.

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence
 361 on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú in-
 184 formant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy
 season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River,
 while the campenciro may hunt to no avail for several days
 in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much
 walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel
 easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the
 savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of
 the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be re-
 plenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens.
 [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and
 accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú
 642 are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders,
 although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only
 does the patron give very little for rubber," say the
 Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expen-
 sive articles he always replies that he does not have any

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in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururu household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururu woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururu men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururu people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucu. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucu who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

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^m
797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

177 The priests have had considerably more success in en-
461 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not
true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly
linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to
the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however,
it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy"
or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber col-
lecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends
on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the
Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely
to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to
help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

439 The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
797 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
648 Mundurucu population on the Cururú River lives up-
stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is sit-
uated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disad-
vantage in the competition between the two for the trade
and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence
also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in
charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[m] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency
in the introduction of Western culture.

[437] Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which pre-
vails throughout the region. During the dry season, rub-
ber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter
rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

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cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up ⁴³⁹ and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are ⁷⁹⁷ more frequent in September, October, and November ⁶⁴⁸ when rubber is still being collected and the river has be-^[484]gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucu these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets^[527] provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campesinos. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their^[594]

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
 ●648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
 797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, how-
 ever, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter
 trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the
 savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool
 their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
 361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
 439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him
 to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can set-
 [591] tle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
 but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to re-
 main patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In
 short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's
 rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-ex-
 traction industry has in the lives of the people of the
 Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, re-
 lease the young men of dependence on an extended family
 [596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended
 family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
 [476] the previously described loss of cooperative patterns in
 [594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhance-
 ment of the role of the nuclear family.

439 Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
 461 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
 trast to the four days per week and three months per year
 that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the aver-
 age Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four
 to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú
 exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rub-
 ber collecting means that the Indian must return to the
 rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for
 the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

- 177 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only
182 causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mun-
• 648 durucú society. Forces external to the society merit con-
439 sideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused
no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only
as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His
absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to
the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the
Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social
system. His role as a member of a village and of an ex-
tended family becomes incompatible with the obligations
of clientship because the latter demands a period of rub-
ber production that overlaps the village horticultural cy-
cle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow,
dependence on the individualized labor and personal hold-
ings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incon-
gruent with the cooperative labor and collective economy
of the native social system. As the participation in the two
social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the
fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú
to move more completely into the patron-client relation-
ship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is
resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restruc-
turing of their interpersonal relations in the looser frame-
work of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of ex-
istence by several factors. Some of these are elements of
the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of resi-
dence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for
example, trade relations and rubber production, originate
from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained
structures that respond only to their own needs; they are
related to other social systems through networks of struc-
tured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

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be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

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The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study. for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock⁴ is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

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The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

/2 cont. /

*24-1 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he
[195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantitative development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens
[161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de-
[248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton
[251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and
[439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

Apiaca SP2

Cayabi

Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont. /

175 enemies of the Bakaïf, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of
the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna,
Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïf

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* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S.
Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language
of the Bakaïf, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and
unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these
matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

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[113] A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/
once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
[131] Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
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[101] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïf, whom they
call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso
where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition
shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times,
in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
passage, that the Baikïf lived in the province of Pará; among
[131] the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper
course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called
"Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká
in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma,
and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with
their attacks. The Bakaïf, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
[101] membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer
occur, since they have moved to the north.

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000 The chief enemies of the West Bakaïf, and probably even
of the united Bakaïf, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabi.
"Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was